DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 397 027 SP 036 743

AUTHOR Barreto, Ramona Maile
TITLE Diverse Teacher Candidates' Critiques of Multicultural/Bilingual Teacher Preparation: Insights and Implications.
PUB DATE Apr 96
NOTE 40p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (New York, NY, April 8-12, 1996).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Bilingual Education; Case Studies; College Students; *Constructivism (Learning); Cultural Differences; Educational Change; Education Majors; Elementary Secondary Education; Higher Education; *Multicultural Education; Politics of Education; *Preservice Teacher Education; Teacher Certification; Teacher Education Programs; Teacher Educators; Teaching Models; *Theory Practice Relationship
IDENTIFIERS California; *Diversity (Student); *Social Constructivism

ABSTRACT

This study examined California's new system of bilingual and cross cultural teacher preparation, its implementation, and teacher candidates' reception of it. The new system, referred to as (B)CLAD, consists of two credentials for preservice teachers and two certificates for inservice teachers: the Cross Cultural Language and Academic Development, and the Bilingual Crosscultural Language and Academic Development. The study focused on the introduction of these new standards for teachers of diverse students at a large research university in Southern California; the implementation process; and teacher candidates' and teacher educators' narrative practices, perceptions, and interpretations, using ethnographic case study methods. In-depth interviews with eight preservice teachers in the program indicated that the teacher candidates demonstrated awareness of the program's main focus as articulated by the teacher educators and that potential tension existed between this focus and the opinions of some candidates. The candidates appeared to agree regarding the teacher educators' generally ineffective modeling of the principles and theories they taught in the program. While the faculty's social reconstructionist commitment is one of their greatest strengths, it is also a potential source of weakness as its strong focus on the principles being taught may not encourage self-reflection on pedagogical practices. Limited time was identified as the primary practical constraint to the program, as well as lack of communication among the program's teacher educators. The findings suggested that the program would be strengthened by including and encouraging self-reflection processes for both teacher educators and students. (Contains 53 references.) (ND)

ED 397 027

Diverse Teacher Candidates' Critiques of Multicultural/Bilingual Teacher Preparation: Insights and Implications

Ramona Maile Barreto
UCLA Graduate School of Education and Information Studies

Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New York, April 1996

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

R Barreto

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

SP036743

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Introduction

One of the most critical issues facing the field of education today is the preparation of educators to teach a linguistically, culturally, and socio-economically diverse[1] student population. Within multicultural and bilingual education lie many of the cultural, political, and economic issues typifying current social conditions--shifting demographics, diversity, and globalization. Given these circumstances, much concern, debate, and reform surround the purposes of multicultural and bilingual education and the qualifications teachers need to facilitate them. The variety of ideology reflected in the different approaches to multicultural/bilingual education is almost as diverse as the student population they hope to effect.

Certain conceptions of multicultural/bilingual teacher preparation emphasize the socio-political components of linguistic, cultural, and socio-economic difference, consider diversity as a resource, and advocate examining and critiquing racism and personal attitudes as a means of educating teachers who are able to facilitate more equitable education for all children and democratic principles (Giroux, 1991; Zeichner, 1993; Darder, 1991; Cummins, 1986). The term "social reconstructionist" (Sleeter and Grant, 1987) is the shorthand for this approach to teacher education and policy, and, for sake of convenience, will be used in this essay to refer to this approach to multicultural/bilingual teacher education. In the rush to respond to the need for social reconstructionist multicultural/bilingual teacher education, those conceptualizing the curricula and policies have done little empirical work studying the actual implementation of such efforts. Consequently, little is known about the real life complexities of putting social reconstructionist approaches to teacher education into practice.

An emergent body of literature suggests that the implementation stage is a crucial site of inquiry for improving our understanding of how social reconstructionist multicultural/bilingual teacher education curricula is experienced and the various supports, obstacles, and reinterpretations facing such curricula. This qualitative study examines one of the most recent multicultural/bilingual education policy reforms, California's new system of bilingual and crosscultural teacher preparation, its

[1] Recognizing the prevalence in much literature and popular thought to associate diversity only with differences in languages and culture, in this proposal I define diversity to be primarily based on the combination of one's language, culture, and socio-economic status.

implementation, and teacher candidates' reception of it. With its focus on the socio-political components of diversity and emphasis on critical reflection, this reform policy articulates many social reconstructionist teacher education goals. The new credentialing system consists of two credentials (for prospective teachers) and two certificates (for in-service teachers): (1) the *Crosscultural Language and Academic Development* (CLAD) and (2) the *Bilingual Crosscultural Language and Academic Development* (BCLAD)--hereafter, collectively referred to as (B)CLAD (CTC, 1992).

A teacher education laboratory at a large research university in Southern California serves as one example of a teacher preparation program in the process of implementing and diffusing the (B)CLAD reform. In the context of this research site, which will be thoroughly described later, it is possible to study how the theoretical construct of multicultural/bilingual social reconstructionist teacher education is reflected in California state credentialing policy, has been adopted into a particular teacher education program's articulated mission, curriculum, and pedagogy, and is now in the process of being translated into practice. More specifically, the introduction of these new standards for teachers of diverse students at this university provides an opportunity to study how a reform policy interacts with the participating agents, the situated social systems, and the prevalent structural expectations and practices at one teacher preparation program.

Working from inductive reasoning, this study asks:

> *In a credentialing program guided by social reconstructionist teacher education theory and related policy, what factors influence diverse teacher candidates' attitudes toward multicultural and bilingual education?*

An additional line of inquiry intended to further unpack my larger guiding research question is:

> *What potential backlash effects arise in such a credentialing program regarding diverse teacher candidates' attitudes toward multicultural and bilingual education?*

Without such inquiry, social reconstructionist conceptualizations of multicultural/bilingual teacher education policies and curricula may become yet another intellectual exercise that falls short of effecting real progress toward more equitable and just schooling for all children.

Due to the paucity of this kind of research, my aim in this study is not to test definitive hypotheses. Rather, I attempt to describe the crucial sites of success and concern that arise during the

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

implementation of the program's curriculum and to generate recommendations for future practice and hypotheses for further investigation.

In order to better understand the theoretical construct of social reconstructionist multicultural bilingual teacher education and its reflection in the (B)CLAD credentialing policy and local implementation efforts, I must uncover its diverse theoretical underpinnings. I first provide a succinct description of the (B)CLAD policy as embodying a social reconstructionist approach to teacher education and analyze its underlying response to current social conditions. To establish its ideological orientation, I situate it within a continuum of approaches to multicultural/bilingual education that ranges from depoliticized to politicized. I argue that social reconstructionist multicultural/bilingual teacher education falls on the more "politicized" end of the spectrum. Second, I discuss and critique the conceptions of inquiry, dialogue, mutual understanding, and emancipation that inform the theoretical construct of social reconstructionist multicultural/bilingual teacher education. Third, I identify and explore the tensions around the critical and normative characteristics of this theoretical construct. Within this exploration, I review extant empirical work which, I believe, falls short of capturing the tensions and complexities embedded in implementing social reconstructionist multicultural/bilingual teacher education. These discussions influence my methodology and analytic perspectives which I describe next. I conclude by presenting the findings of my study and recommendations for future implementation of social reconstructionist multicultural/bilingual teacher education curriculum.

(B)CLAD Reform Substance

For the sake of clarity, a succinct description of the (B)CLAD reform's substance and intended outcomes is in order. In 1992, the California Commission on Teacher Credentialing (CTC) adopted the new (B)CLAD system for the preparation and credentialing of teachers for culturally and linguistically diverse students. The new system, developed by the CTC and their Bilingual Crosscultural Advisory Panel, articulates a comprehensive and integrated pre- and in-service preparation program for teachers of LCD* students. The sweeping scope of the (B)CLAD reform includes changes in teacher preparation programs and coursework, teacher credentialing examinations,

*Recognizing the negative connotations of the term "LEP," I describe the student population of interest in this paper as linguistically and culturally diverse (LCD).

and the certificates for in-service teachers of LCD students (Carlson and Walton, 1994, pg. 1). The 33 (B)CLAD standards, presented in the reform document Program Quality and Effectiveness for Professional Teacher Preparation Programs, constitute the principles that guide all components of this systemic reform effort.

The (B)CLAD teacher preparation program's standards represent a "reconsideration of the basic training for all teachers, and of the specialized training necessary for teachers who directly instruct LEP students" (CTC, 1992, pg. 4). In addition to the traditional academic development duties of a teacher, the (B)CLAD credential recipient is to provide (bilingual) crosscultural, and language development for the students. The (B)CLAD standards seek to prepare teachers to provide equal educational opportunities for linguistic minority students through training them to provide specially designed academic instruction in English and/or in the students' primary language (CTC, 1992, pg. 4).

The (B)CLAD "quality oriented standards" describing teachers' competence and performance differ from prescriptive guidelines for teachers. The difference between standards and guidelines is intended to allow individual teachers to meet the standards' high expectations in ways that capitalize on their own talents rather than force all teachers into compliance with regimented lists of requirements. This distinction actively seeks to articulate and mandate fundamental orientations toward crosscultural and bilingual education, rather than simply dictate concrete performance behaviors. Standard 16 exemplifies this nature of the (B)CLAD reform considerations:

> Each candidate has the opportunity in the [teacher education] program to develop multicultural competencies, to examine racism and to evaluate personal attitudes towards people of different cultural, linguistic, racial, ethnic, socio-economic backgrounds and with individuals with differing handicapping conditions (CTC, 1992, pg. 28).

In essence, the (B)CLAD reform endeavors to prepare teachers to "recognize diversity as a valuable resource" (CTC, 1992, pg. 5). The (B)CLAD reform intends to impact the fundamental elements of teaching by attempting to cultivate certain orientations and attitudes towards diverse students and bilingual and crosscultural education.

The reform's prospects for successful implementation can be examined through a comparison of its postmodern orientation to the modern expectations of teacher candidates and structures of preparation programs. Appreciation of these contrasts explicates the reform's potentially limited

prospects for influencing teachers' instantiated practice. However, this same appreciation reveals the (B)CLAD reform's undaunted effort to articulate the ideological principle of equity in education.

Theoretical Foundations of Social Reconstructionist Teacher Education

Responses to Conditions of Postmodernity

I turn to the construct of postmodernity to help provide an understanding of existing social conditions and their impact on traditional conceptions of teachers' roles and responsibilities. A social reconstructionist approach to multicultural bilingual teacher education (like the (B)CLAD policy) can be viewed as a response to social conditions of postmodernity. Such a consideration illuminates how a social reconstructionist approach to teacher education departs from traditional modern orientations toward diversity and multicultural bilingual education. This departure contributes to social reconstructionist teacher education's redefinition of the roles and responsibilities of multicultural bilingual teachers.

External social and historical forces (primarily dramatic demographic shifts) are calling into question the appropriateness of the "regularities" of how teaching and learning are done in most U.S. schools. These social and historical forces reflect the conditions of rapid change, unpredictability, and uncertainty with which Hargreaves (1994) characterizes the social conditions of postmodernity. In contrast, schooling regularities are usually firmly rooted in modernistic dependencies on stability, predictability, and security.

Hargreaves (1994) describes typical responses to "the crumbling edifice of modernity" as either 1) efforts to reinforce and restore conditions of standardization and control, or, 2) a retreat to romanticized versions of collaboration and unity (p. 33). Such reactive tendencies are clearly perceptible in the growing trends toward restricting the educational opportunities for diverse students and insistence on the unifying power of monolingualism. Social reconstructionist conceptions of multicultural bilingual teachers' roles, responsibilities, and education move beyond this typical response by embracing the conditions of change, diversity, and flexibility. The characteristics of social reconstructionist multicultural bilingual teacher education are reflected in recent policy reforms. The objectives of the (B)CLAD policy demonstrate the proactive social reconstructionist response:

> The recent demographic changes affecting California public schools have required a reconsideration of the basic training for all teachers...it is critical that all teachers be sensitive to the linguistic and cultural needs of students and the interrelationships among school, community, student needs, and curriculum (CTC, p. 4).

The theoretical construct of social reconstructionist multicultural bilingual teacher education can be understood as one effort to respond to the social conditions of postmodernity and reconsider the multicultural bilingual attitudes and capabilities teachers need to meet the challenges and rewards of working with diverse students. In this sense, social reconstructionist multicultural bilingual teacher education sets about redefining teachers' roles for conditions of postmodernity. However, in order to appreciate the significance of this social reconstructionist objective, the different, and, at times, non complimentary, approaches to multicultural bilingual education must be examined.

Multicultural/Bilingual Education--From the Depoliticized to the Politicized

For the sake of brevity, I focus my examination of multicultural bilingual education on two major points of concern dominating the current literature: 1) the depoliticization and commercialization of differences; and 2) reasserting a political focus. Examining these two movements in multicultural bilingual education partially explicates the theoretical construct of social reconstructionist teacher education.

The Shift from Addressing Racism to a Focus on "Culture".

This issue pertains to the persistent trend in commercialized multicultural bilingual education efforts to retreat from multicultural bilingual education as a means of addressing racial, social, linguistic, and other related inequalities through education (McLaren, 1994; Darder, 1991; Sleeter, 1995; Banks, 1995; Cochran-Smith, 1995; Aceves, 1993; Baker, C., & García, O. 1993; Ruiz, 1984). Rather, the popularized forms of multicultural education focus on "cultural" differences via celebrating different cultural traditions. Parallel strains of bilingual education view non-dominant languages as a "problem" and serve to transition students as quickly as possible into the dominant language for the sake of acculturation and economic efficiency. These approaches to multicultural bilingual education effectively sidestep the prejudices and politics implicitly embedded within the education of diverse students in the United States. Additionally, they essentially bypass the

original structural and systemic critiques of racism and inequality forwarded by the early Black studies movement, the civil rights movement, and the ethnic studies movement of the 1960s and 1970s (Banks, 1995). The degree to which multicultural bilingual teacher education theory and policy either adhere to this apolitical trend or not can have significant consequences for the ways in which they are implemented and received.

This tendency in popularized notions of multicultural bilingual education to avoid focusing on prejudice reduction and equity issues can be explained in many ways. As I have already discussed, the different responses to existing social conditions significantly influence the ways with which diversity is dealt. The response to today's social conditions characterized by what Hargreaves (1994) calls "a retreat to romanticized versions of collaboration and unity" echoes what Sleeter and Grant (1987) label the "human relations" approach to multicultural bilingual education. With the focus of such approaches well within a comfortable zone of goodwill and affective responses only, more difficult considerations of institutionalized and individual prejudice, politics, and inequalities are effectively circumvented.

Additionally, I propose that the limited nature of traditional conceptions of "culture" also contributes to the persistent trend to depoliticize and commercialize multicultural bilingual education. I will not attempt to clearly define the term culture here, but rather focus on understanding how various conceptions of culture either promote a depoliticized or politicized understanding of multicultural bilingual education.

Generally, definitions of the term culture range from demonstrating either psychological, sociological, or anthropological influences (Gay, 1995). However, it is ironic, considering anthropology's focus on the construct of culture, that psychological and sociological insights seem more often to be drawn upon in multicultural education research than do anthropological ones. Turner (1993), in his critique of this situation, asserts that an anthropological perspective can inform multiculturalism by acknowledging that "culture" is a construct that mediates agents' social processes and political struggles as they take place in specific historical and material conditions. In this sense, Turner extends the definition of culture beyond a traditional structuralist definition of culture as a thing

in and of itself without regard for the agents and the physical and social environments in which they create (Levi-Strauss, 1963; White, 1975). Turner pushes farther by calling for anthropologists and other social scientists to reconceive their theoretical formulations of culture on terms of "the more concretely social and political terms of collective empowerment for self-production rather than as an abstract array of evolutionary cognitive, physical, and social traits" (p. 427). With this effort, Turner introduces the term "culture" and the insights it offers into a conversation attempting to address racial, linguistic, socio-economic, and other related inequalities. This is a conversation in which critics of apolitical multicultural bilingual education and proponents of social reconstructionist teacher education are already avidly engaged.

Re-Defining Teachers' Roles by Reasserting the Political in Multicultural/Bilingual Education.

The growing critique regarding commercialized apolitical multicultural bilingual education is the second issue I address in order to establish a contextual understanding of the theoretical construct of social reconstructionist multicultural bilingual teacher education. These critiques reassert the role of multicultural bilingual education as a primary means of empowering diverse students and educating all students to contribute to a more just and equitable society (McLaren, 1994; Giroux, 1992; hooks, 1994; Cummins, 1986; Darder 1991; Aceves, 1993).

Within this movement to focus on the cultural, social, and political factors embedded in multicultural bilingual education, critical pedagogy has emerged as a significant proponent and source of insight. Critical multicultural/bilingual education theorists call for teachers to not only be sensitive to diversity, but also to be able to identify the presence and implications of the historical, cultural, economic, and political factors involved in their own beliefs, attitudes, and pedagogy. Acknowledging the social conditions of postmodernity, critical pedagogists push beyond some of their less radical peers and seek to radically redefine teachers' roles. When presented with the contrast between critical pedagogists' goals and the traditional conceptions of teaching, Giroux (1992) postures:

> What are the necessary conditions to educate teachers to be intellectuals so they can engage critically the relationship between culture and learning and change the conditions under which

> they work? As I put it in some of my writings, we need to redefine the role of teachers as transformative intellectuals (p. 15).

Four key characteristics emerge as essential to educating teachers to be transformative intellectuals who participate in critical multiculturalism (Giroux, 1992; McLaren, 1995). Firstly, critical multicultural bilingual education insists that diversity be conceptualized in terms of "difference" which "is always the product of history, culture, power, ideology" (McLaren, 1995, p. 112). This insistence echoes Turner's (1993) assertion that culture is grounded in class relations and material conditions. The second criteria that emerges is a belief in the power of education as a forum for public discourse contributing to a political project grounded in ideological convictions such as social justice. The third is teachers' ability to exercise their intelligence to shape curriculum and pedagogy that serve their ideological convictions and political projects. Essentially, this characteristic is the ability to translate theory into practice. Fourth, feminists working in the critical tradition articulate the place of what could be called a 'critical compassion'. hooks (1994) states:

> To teach in a manner that respects and cares for the souls of our students is essential if we are to provide the necessary conditions where learning can most deeply and intimately begin (p. 13).

This notion of caring differs from that of an "ethic of caring" in that its explicit goal is to develop what hooks describes as a feminist education for critical consciousness.

These characteristics illustrate the multiple areas in which the role of teacher is being redefined and strongly influence the theoretical construct of social reconstructionist teacher education which Zeichner (as cited in Ladson-Billings, 1995) succinctly describes as:

> [a] tradition that emphasizes teachers' abilities to see the social and political implication of their actions and to assess their actions and the social contexts in which they are carried out, for their contribution to greater equality, justice, and humane conditions in schooling and society (p. 4).

It is evident that the objectives these critical pedagogists and social reconstructionists advocate require teachers to expand beyond, but not abandon, a solely academic focus and to embrace the moral foundations of multicultural bilingual education in a democratic society. The nature of these objectives necessitates a discussion of the critical and normative characteristics of social reconstructionist multicultural bilingual teacher education.

Tensions Around the Critical and Normative Characteristics of Social Reconstructionist Multicultural/Bilingual Teacher Education

Much of the content and pedagogy of social reconstructionist multicultural bilingual teacher education has its epistemological roots in particular conceptions of inquiry, dialogue, mutual understanding, and emancipation. In this section, I outline Habermas' influence on social reconstructionist teacher education theories and discuss the major critiques of his work. Then, I argue that some of the major tenets of social reconstructionist multicultural bilingual teacher education can become significant areas of concern when this construct is actually put into practice.

Habermas, working from the traditions of German critical social theorists, construes the nature of knowledge to be fundamentally interest bound. Inquiry, therefore, is aimed at understanding the ways in which competing interests influence understanding and meaning making (Giddens, 1982). Habermas' intent is to create a process of critical inquiry capable of identifying and working through the interest bound nature of knowledge and self (Sirotnik and Oakes, 1990). This goal manifests itself in social reconstructionist teacher education admonitions for teacher educators and teachers to "come to grips with their own personal and cultural values and identities in order for them to help students from diverse racial, ethnic, and cultural groups" (Banks, 1991).

According to Habermas (1971), the vehicle of such critical inquiry is dialogue occurring only under certain conditions including all participants acting within normative parameters concerning issues of intelligibility, veracity, and respect. Under these conditions, Habermas asserts that it is possible for the participants to reach a working mutual understanding, or intersubjectivity. Education theorists like Dewey (1916), Freire (1970), Liston and Zeichner (1987), Sirotnik and Oakes (1990), and Giroux (1991), with variation, also go to great lengths describing the conditions under which this type of critical dialogue can take place, though their faith in the possibility of mutual understanding does vary. The end goal of such processes for Habermas is the emancipation of individuals from dominant forces influencing our knowledge and actions and the furthering of democratic principles. In the context of education, social reconstructionist theorists envision critical inquiry as an emancipating learning practice contributing to more equitable education for all and more democratic social conditions.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Habermas, perhaps, even to a greater extent than some education theorists, acknowledges that these conceptions of inquiry, dialogue, mutual understanding, and emancipation are primarily analytic constructs versus descriptions of real-life events. His focus is primarily on theorizing the process through which intersubjectivity is sought, rather than on the goal of mutual understanding itself (Shelly, 1993). Aronowitz (cited in Giroux, 1992) argues Habermas' work reveals that he incorrectly locates the barriers to achieving mutual understanding and emancipation not in "the exigencies of class interests, but in distorted communication" (p. 93). Giroux (1992) sharpens this critique in his statement that:

> Habermas speaks from a position that is not only susceptible to the charge of being patriarchal but is open to the charge that his work does not adequately engage the relationship between discourse and power and the messy material relations of class, race, and gender (p. 50).

In contrast, educational theorists in the more social reconstructionist tradition, such as Dewey, tend to be keenly aware of these "messy material relations." Darder (1991) credits Dewey with conceptualizing democracy as inherently a continual struggle involving such relations. In defining the goals of democratic experiences, Dewey describes the following:

> The extension in space of the number of individuals who participate in an interest so that each has to refer his own action to that of others and to consider action of others to give point and direction to his own is equivalent to breaking down of those barriers of class, race, and natural territory which kept men from perceiving the full import of their activity (p. 87).

From these discussions, it is clear that the diverse theoretical traditions informing the theoretical construct of social reconstructionist multicultural/bilingual teacher education contribute to its rich potential to significantly advance more democratic social conditions through education. However, it is also evident that the diversity of social reconstructionist teacher education's theoretical foundations also renders it straddling two different approaches (a modernist and postmodernist) to reclaiming the Enlightenment ideals of critique, dialogue, emancipation, and democracy.

Problematizing Inquiry, Dialogue, Mutual Understanding, and Emancipation.

Though Habermas and the more critical education theorists each have substantial critiques of each other, a general critique can be applied to both of these theoretical traditions and to the theoretical construct of social reconstructionist multicultural/bilingual teacher education. Namely, they, perhaps with the exceptions of Dewey and Freire, primarily engage in the conceptualization of efforts to

forward democracy through education, rather than rigorously examine how their theories play out in actual practice. Researchers studying the implementation of social reconstructionist multicultural bilingual teacher education warn that the transition from these theoretical constructs to actual practice may not be as smooth as some theorists assume.

I now turn to work that attempts to investigate the tensions, obstacles, and supports involved in implementing the theoretical construct of social reconstructionist multicultural bilingual teacher education. These works often take as their starting point the articulated goal(s) of the higher education program implementing social reconstructionist teacher education. For example: "becoming a multicultural person" (Gillette and Boyle-Baise, 1995); "teacher education for diversity" (Zeichner, 1993); "dialogue across differences" (Burbules and Rice, 1991); "critical pedagogy" (Ellsworth, 1989).

In their analysis of the barriers encountered when teacher educators attempt to implement content and pedagogical goals such as critical inquiry for social justice, the researchers often develop sharp critiques of the goals themselves (Ellsworth, 1989; Hood and Parker, 1994; Lindquist, 1994). As the authors develop these critiques, their focus often narrows to the extent that documenting and analyzing the dynamics of *implementing* the goal(s) sometimes fall to the wayside. They instead pursue various levels of (re)conceptualizing of the goal(s). However, despite this tendency, certain salient areas of concern emerge in these studies, one of the most prominent being the conditions of dialogue in the programs. I will now use the literature to explore this area of concern in more depth. This site of concern can provide me with clues regarding what the diverse teacher candidates and teacher educators in my proposed study may perceive to be supports and obstacles to the implementation of social reconstructionist teacher education curriculum.

Conditions of Dialogue-What are They Really?

Aspiring to critical-normative conditions of inquiry, most social reconstructionist multicultural bilingual teacher education curricula articulate goals of interactive, student centered dialogues respectful of diverse opinions and experiences. However, these communicative virtues are more difficult to instantiate than they are to articulate. One source of this difficulty relates to the

normative foundations of a social reconstructionist agenda which, by definition, simultaneously promote critical analysis of existing conditions and a normative embracing of shared ideologies such as social justice and democracy. This tension around the critical *and* normative characteristics of the theoretical construct of social reconstructionist multicultural bilingual teacher education has been approached from various perspectives including the liberal modern and radical postmodern traditions.

Representing the liberal modern perspective, scholars such as Hargreaves (1994) and Liston and Zeichner (1993) acknowledge the need to establish guiding ethical principles around which diverse voices and their purposes can cohere in school and social reform efforts. Yet, at the same time they are empathetic with the feelings of uncertainty and vulnerability that accompany today's rapidly changing social conditions. They bridge these two concerns by advocating that social reconstructionist teacher education curricula grounded in critical inquiry must "educate, not inculcate;" thereby validating the existence of other defensible moral positions that do not share the same ethical principles as these curricula (Liston and Zeichner, 1987). These educators differ from Habermas who, though well within the same liberal modern tradition, still holds intersubjectivity and consensus as viable goals. This difference may be attributable to the fact that Habermas is a philosopher and these educational theorists conduct their research with real teachers in the midst of the micropolitical complexities of schools.

Radical postmodern educators' demand for radical change of existing oppressive systems leads them to want to push people beyond their traditional comfort zones and abandon certainty and security (Macedo, 1995). However, they also argue that school and social reform efforts must be guided by normative ideologies of equity and justice (Giroux and McLaren, 1994). Thus, radical postmodern educators challenge students to deconstruct prevailing normative forces and forgo faith in grand narratives, yet want them to embrace equity and democracy as norms on which to base their social critiques. Ironically, radical educators' use of guiding social justice ideologies in the formation of new non-oppressive public spheres takes as its precedent some of the modern normative traditions to which the radicals postmodernists object. They attempt to reinsert modernism's progressive principles into more inclusive social and school reform agendas such as social reconstructionist teacher education.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

This is another demonstration of how social reconstructionist multicultural/bilingual teacher education is vicariously poised between the modernist and postmodernists' approaches to reclaiming the inclusive and transformative possibilities of certain modern discourses while simultaneously rejecting other oppressive Enlightenment tenets.

A site of much debate concerning social reconstructionist agendas and methods is the procedural conditions in which they take place. Critics of social reconstructionist teacher education curricula assert that no matter how much pre conceptualization of these dialogue conditions theorists go to, during actual implementation, conditions degenerate and actually repress participants rather than emancipate them (Ellsworth, 1989). Ellsworth argues this occurs because these theorists are so abstract in their conceptualizations and do not acknowledge the highly situated contexts of such inquiry. However, critics like Ellsworth too rashly throw-out social reconstructionist goals as merely modern grand narratives reinvented, and, as I have already noted, their work often fails to constructively illuminate the implementation process. A more productive area of study and analysis of the implementation problems that may face social reconstructionist teacher education can be found in Zeichner's (1993) question regarding potentially: "how various strategies of 'teacher education for diversity' often legitimate and strengthen the very attitudes, values, and dispositions they were designed to correct" (pg. 19). However, the extant attempts to empirically address such questions fall short of adequately describing the dynamics and complexities involved in implementing the theoretical construct of social reconstructionist multicultural/bilingual teacher education.

Methodology

As my research focuses on the implementation process and teacher candidates and teacher educators' normative practices, perceptions, and interpretations, it demands a qualitative research design, such as an ethnographic case study. This design captures some of the individual, structural, and micropolitical complexities involved in the (B)CLAD implementation at my site of research (Ladson-Billings, 1995). I have attempted to employ what Grant and Tate (1995) call "multicultural education research" which they characterize as:

> "1. It is built upon the philosophical ideas of freedom, justice, equality, equity, pluralism, and human dignity.

2. It is the intent and purpose of the research to facilitate a comprehensive understanding of students [i.e. teacher candidates] in order to improve their learning experience and total education.
3.) There is an attempt to understand the influence and interactions of the constructs of race, class, socioeconomic status, and gender.
4) There is an attempt to understand the relationship between knowledge and power" (pg. 159).

My voice in the collection, analysis, and write-up of the data is influenced by my own ethnic identity as a woman of mixed ethnicities and my belief in multicultural and bilingual education as contributing to the creation of a more ethical and just society. The presence of the author's voice in research is embraced by the qualitative research paradigm and, as will be demonstrated, compliments my ethnographic case study methods of data collection and analysis (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1988; Marshall and Rossman, 1989).

Description of Ethnographic Case Study Methods

Case study methods are useful when the phenomena under study are not readily distinguishable from their context and the researchers' focus is examining the process and consequences of phenomena in the real life context in which they occur (Yin, 1989; Merriam, 1988). Policy researchers advocating case study methodology argue that they are conducive to careful policy implementation analysis by allowing researchers to go beyond simple input-outcome measures of the success or failure of a particular policy or theory to examine the contexts into which the policy or theory is being cast (Wells and Grutzik, 1995).

This capacity facilitates this study's intentions to move beyond past empirical studies of social reconstructionist multicultural/bilingual teacher education programs that simplistically consider the programs' implementation to be a matter of the reception and acceptance, or not, of information. In the context of my research site, which will be thoroughly described later, the phenomena under study is actually a theoretical construct that is reflected in California state credentialing policy, has been adopted into a particular teacher education program's articulated mission, curriculum, and pedagogy, and is now in the process of being translated into practice. In short, the phenomenon that I study is not readily distinguishable from its context, and therefore case study methodology is a well-suited choice.

An ethnographic approach not only complements case study methodology's capacity to examine a particular theory and/or policy within the local context in which it is being played out, but also enriches it. First, ethnographic techniques allow researchers to record observations in a naturalistic setting and uncover the activities and systems of a particular culture while unpacking the meaning that participants attach to their daily experiences in that culture (Geertz, 1973). This latter distinction is crucial, least ethnography be conceptualized merely as the use of qualitative data collection methods. Geertz (1973) further clarifies the definition of ethnography by stating: "what the practitioners do is ethnography" (p. 5). This focus on the "doing" applies to both the analytic perspectives utilized in ethnographies, such as those I have previously discussed, and the actual methods of data collection which I will discuss in an upcoming section.

Secondly, ethnography is holistic. It emphasizes the activities and relationships among participants in a specific social context: 1) the situations in which they interact; 2) the means by which they communicate; and 3) how their interaction both reflects and creates their community (Jacob, 1995). These perspectives are crucial in an effort to understand the dynamics and complexities of implementing the a social reconstructionist teacher education curriculum.

In synthesizing the methodologies of case study and ethnography, Merriam (1988) states:

> An *ethnographic case study*, then, is more than an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a social unit or phenomenon. It is a sociocultural analysis of the unit of study (p. 23, italics in the original).

It is evident from my discussions and this definition that ethnographic case study methods are not intended to produce reduced quantitative documentation of a given phenomenon detached from its real life setting. Rather than being a limitation, this proves a great asset in studies, such as mine, with a particular desired end product.

The goal of my study is to provide educators, theoreticians, and researchers with well-grounded and pragmatic information regarding implementing the theoretical construct of social reconstructionist multicultural/bilingual teacher education. In other words, I tell the story of how a theoretical construct gets invented as a function of participants in particular contexts. The end products of this study are in the form of rich descriptions, stories, and emergent themes or patterns that enrich

our understanding of the theoretical construct of social reconstructionist multicultural/bilingual teacher education and the complexities of implementing it.

Site description and rationale

My two research questions dictate my site selection--a teacher education program implementing an social reconstructionist approach to multicultural bilingual teacher education--and make California University's (CU) Teacher Education Laboratory (TEL) a suitable site of study[2]. However, the CU site proves particularly interesting for several reasons. TEL at CU is currently undergoing a transition in leadership from an old, more traditional guard, to a new leadership interested in promoting specific agendas for urban and minority education. At the time data was collected, the program was in its second year of implementation. CU was one of the original programs accredited to offer the (B)CLAD credentials.

The majority of the candidates are European American females and there is minority representation of Asians, European American males, and Latino/as. In the academic year of this study (1994-95) there were no African American candidates. This year TEL personnel are making attempts to recruit a more diverse candidate population. Even these modest efforts are challenging the personnel to prioritize the qualities they demand of their admitees (i.e. high test scores or commitment and experience to urban schooling). This is not to say that these two qualities are not often found in the same applicant. However, when test scores are a little weak, but a minority applicant demonstrates extremely strong experience and commitment to schooling for a just and caring society, the admissions committee faces a choice conditioned by both their ideological beliefs and institutional constraints.

CU's (B)CLAD credentialing programs are offered under the auspices of the newly formed Center for Teacher Education (a conglomeration of pre- and in-service professional education programs) which establishes a unique context in which the (B)CLAD standards can be interpreted. The Center's mission statement and strategies focus on the intersection of "theory and practice for just and caring urban schools and teaching" and articulate a context supportive of the (B)CLAD standards emphasizing the value of diversity (Oakes and Beck, 1995). However, the center's mission and the

[2]All names have been changed to protect the confidentiality of the participants in this study.

(B)CLAD standards both find themselves in a national, state, and, to some extent, local political context that is less than supportive of linguistic and cultural diversity. The center's program itself has been the subject of complaint by an unidentified number of students objecting to the program's multicultural emphasis. The TEL (B)CLAD credential program provides an excellent opportunity to examine how these external and internal forces play out in the implementation and reception of reform standards promoting diversity and equity.

Sampling rationale

I employ judgment sampling which involves making informed selections of participants for the study based on pre-selected criteria that inform my research question. Through information gathering interviews with friends of mine who are candidates in the program and who serve as clinical consultants, I identified candidates who represented a range of opinions regarding the principles of multicultural bilingual education espoused at the CU program. Generally, this range of opinions fell into a continuum of strongly agreeing with the program's principles, moderately agreeing with them, or moderately disagreeing with them. I chose a sample cohort of 8 candidates representative of the diversity of opinion regarding the (B)CLAD standards and from the most representative ethnicities in the program, namely: Asian, European American, and Latino (please see Appendix A)[3]. Realizing the essentializing qualities of these terms, I do not assume that the candidates chosen represent an 'authenticity' of ethnicity, but rather will consider them as individuals embedded with a larger social political economic/cultural conjuncture (Nieto, 1992; Turner, 1993). My sampling strategy is supported by ethnography's emphasis on understanding individuals' perspectives and lived experiences and providing a "thick" description of them rather than immediately seeking widely generalizable findings (Geertz, 1973).

Data collection

[3]Following Nieto's (1992) admonition, I have chosen to use these terms to describe the candidates' ethnic identities based on two major criteria: "1. What do the people in question want to be called? [and] 2. What is the most precise term?" (pg. 15). These terms are limited in their ability to express the more refined ethnic identities that some of the candidates hold such as "Korean American" or "Chicana." Therefore, when a candidates specifies themselves as something other than these more general descriptive terms, I have indicated it in the text.

I conducted one in-depth interview with each of the eight candidates during the second and third quarters of the four quarter program. The interviews lasted from one to one and a half hours and were tape recorded, and then transcribed by myself. Additionally, I spent three and a half months as a participant observer on one of the teams at TEL. In this capacity, I was able to familiarize myself with the environment and activities in which the candidates participated and observe select teacher educators' practices. These interviews and observations allow me to better understand the implementation of the (B)CLAD standards and the micro and structural complexities among its constituents and within the program. Orientations toward the (B)CLAD principles of multicultural and bilingual have not previously been studied; therefore, it is important to form a qualitative description of the candidates' experiences before looking for highly generalizable trends across specific criteria (Yin, 1989).

Data analysis

The data are analyzed utilizing units of observations, a coding schema, and a thesaurus that I developed based on my review of the literature and continual refection upon the data as they were collected. The data analysis consisted of coded fieldnotes and interviews and memos to myself regarding emerging categories, trends, and relationships among the data. I continue my data analysis throughout my data collection in an effort to model developing "substantive theory grounded in empirical data" (Marshall and Rossman, 1989, pg. 113).

Observations and Analysis

In examining the eight teacher candidates' interview responses, I weave together elements from the individual (candidates and teacher educators) and the institutional levels that, as problematized by the candidates, significantly influence their experiences in the (B)CLAD preparation program at California University's TEL program.

Perceiving Principles of Multicultural/Bilingual Education to be the Program's "Main Focus"

Teacher preparation programs attempting to provide information regarding teaching LCD students have been categorized as either representing a "segregated" or an "integrated" approach (Zeichner, 1993). Programs of the former vain "add-on" their multicultural bilingual courses to their

regular offerings as opposed to integrating this focus through out their curriculum and practices. California University, as an accredited (B)CLAD credentialing institution, is required to, at least 'on paper' articulate what would be termed an integrated approach to "teacher education for diversity" (Zeichner, 1993, pg. 13).

Consistently, in each of the interviews, it is clear that, not only does the TEI program profess an integrated approach, but indeed the candidates are *keenly* aware that "multicultural education," along with "constructivism," is the primary "goal" of the program: "Constructivism and multicultural education is what they are pounding into us" (Kate, an Asian American woman); "I would say that as much as we have been inculcated to believe certain things there, I would say that you would probably get the same sort of reaction from people" (Kenneth, a European American man); "...the whole multicultural perspective and that you are going to want to talk about that, and people are already kind of--just feel like they've already talked so much about that" (Paulina, a Chicana); "they tried to focus on a minority point of view, the point of view of under-represented people" (Rob, an Asian American man).

These representative comments illustrate varying responses that fall out along a continuum of, at one end, what could be termed sarcasm and, at the other end, a sensitivity to the program's focus and how people respond to it. Interestingly, the statements with the 'sarcastic' tones do not necessarily, like in the case of Kate, come from candidates who are unsupportive of such a teacher education for diversity approach. In fact, Paulina, a self-identified supporter of critical multicultural bilingual education, recognizes that, though an important message, its persistence may have potentially adverse effects with some people. However, the majority of the interviewees express satisfaction, and even gratitude, that they are being exposed to this information and think that it puts them at an advantage over people who do not receive it.

The clarity of the program's main focus, as exhibited by these candidates, confirms the integrated nature of the program's commitment to principles of multicultural bilingual education. However, it must be noted that these opinions were solicited in interviews occurring in the second quarter of the year long program. Candidates' responses to a question regarding how they chose to

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

attend CU's program reveal that, before starting the program, only one of the eight candidates knew that promoting understandings about "multilingual education and ethnic and racial differences" is the program's main focus (Oakes and Beck, 1995). Bradley, a European American man, states: "Nope. I didn't know anything about CU's political agenda, but it is very exciting to be here and be a part of it, but I didn't know about it before." All of the interviewees readily concede that CU's prestigious and popular reputation and the fact that it offers a teaching credential and masters degree in one year greatly influenced their decision to attend. As interpreted by the one candidate who was aware of the program's focus prior to attending, this finding has potentially serious implications for candidates once in the program: "Well, I know that many people have said that if they had known that the slant of CU was going to be so skewed toward a particular side, they might not have attended" (Rob, an Asian American man).

Examining Candidates' Voices

Each of the candidates interviewed speaks with a high degree of clarity regarding the principles of multicultural/bilingual education articulated at CU's TEL program; however, as alluded to previously, the nature of their reception of these principles varies. The primary considerations upon which their receptions can be distinguished are (1) their responses to the conditions of discourse at CU's TEL program; (2) their perception of their position within the micropolitics of the program; and (3) their degree of reflection directed toward themselves. Presenting select examples within each of these categories portrays the complexities involved in these candidates' experiences of the (B)CLAD program at CU.

Responses to the prevailing conditions of discourse.

In response to an opened question that could have lead to various different discussions, an unexpected focus on the conditions of communication emerges from the data. All of the candidates reference, at one or more points in our conversations, the status of communication between teacher educators and candidates in the program. These references were especially, focused around, though not limited to, the interview question positing a hypothetical situation: "A person with very little

experience with cultural and ethnic diversity who is from a politically conservative background comes to the CU TEL (B)CLAD program. What might they find helpful or problematic about the program?"

When asked the above question, Kate, an Asian American woman in her early twenties, responds:

> "It would be good exposure for them, but sometimes the professors are so emotional, they believe so strongly in their ideas that they don't leave room for divergent opinions. There is no room for them to not agree with a professor. So, if a person wanted to do well, they'd have to regurgitate what the professor wanted them to say."

The characteristics of Kate's response are in contrast to the response from Kenneth, a European American male in his late thirties who entered the program after a successful career in another field:

> "So, I think that someone coming from that place, if they really feel strongly about their beliefs probably wouldn't really suffer that much from voicing those beliefs. They would definitely encounter, they would be in the minority, but they wouldn't suffer from it by the faculty I don't think."

In her response, Kate takes the situation out of the hypothetical realm by referencing her own observations. Though not depicted in the portion of his response I have quoted, Kenneth also transitions the hypothetical situation into references to his own experience and discloses that he has "conservative feelings," but has never felt "pressured" by professors. Both candidates acknowledge the tension between the principles that the teacher educators are espousing and the opinions of some candidates in the program; however, Kate and Kenneth's interpretation of the meaning and implications of this tension differs quite markedly. Kate and Kenneth are on the same team with in the TEL program, and therefore, have been in a lot of classes together. So, most likely, their responses are based upon observing the same or similar occurrences during their classes together. Without essentializing either's point of view as representative of a certain ethnicity, age group, or gender, it is interesting to ponder how their socialization experiences potentially influence their interpretations of the ideological tension they both recognize within the TEL program.

Perception of their positions within the micropolitics of education reform.

All of the candidates demonstrate awareness of the program's main focus as articulated by the teacher educators and the potential tension between this and the opinions of some candidates. In so

doing, they also discuss their peers' and their own positions within these micropolitics and examine the implications of these positions within the TEL program and beyond.

Paulina, a Chicana, states:

> From what I have seen in my classes, there are certain groups, certain professors, that respond to more conservative people differently, and are willing to listen to their perspectives, and actually tend to give them much more of a voice than the people who do believe in the philosophy of the program. And I think that there are others who feel that that is not what needs to go on here. I tend to agree."

Paulina not only perceives the micropolitical dynamics afoot within the program, but also places herself within what she discerns to be a certain camp with her comment, "I tend to agree."

Bradley, a European American man, extends his analysis of the micropolitical complexities surrounding the principles of education disseminated at CU's TEL program to relations with the K-12 schools where candidates will student-teach and potentially work full-time: "I feel like we are being produced to be agents of change, and we are being thrown into a place where change is impossible."

Betsy, a European American woman who considers herself supportive of TEL's goals, comments on the difficulties involved in the program's efforts to forward social reconstructionist multicultural bilingual education: "Just because [traditional curriculum] is the dominant culture, that doesn't make it right. But, that is the hardest thing for people from that background to hear." Thus, Betsy extends her analysis of the micropolitics involved in educational reform beyond the local contexts of CU's TEL program and the surrounding K-12 schools and postures that the complexities and difficulties are part of more macro societal dynamics.

Degree of self reflection and analysis.

All of the candidates without being prompted by a specific interview question disclose what they perceive to be their own positions as either in strong agreement, general agreement, or moderate disagreement with the principles of multicultural/bilingual education professed in CU's TEL program. However, during the interview sessions, only one of the eight candidates engaged in an intentional self critique regarding her responses to the program's principles as received via the teacher educators. Patty, a European American woman discussing one teacher educator in the program, remarks:

> "I did sort of have a strong reaction to [the professor], but [the professor] did make me think. You know that I am not very typical of this group--I am 40, and now I am 41. I think that I am

> more able to question things that I have always just assumed and rethink them than people who need those assumptions more. I am fairly secure in who I am. So, it didn't sort of rock me too much to step back and go, 'That's interesting!'"

It should be noted that in this particular comment, Patty does not commit herself to agreement or disagreement with the principles being espoused by the particular teacher educator. Rather, she focuses on an analysis of the factors that, in her opinion, influence her reception of the principles of multicultural bilingual education being professed by this teacher educator. The other candidates may indeed engage in this type of self reflection and analysis, but did not do so during the course of their interviews.

Problematizing Institutional and Programmatic Features

As previously mentioned, all of the candidates admit that they were strongly drawn to CU's program because it offered a teaching credential and masters degree in one year. This fact proves ironic when most of the candidates identify "limited time" as the pragmatic feature of the program they perceive to most constrain and/or impede the main goals of the program. Interestingly, once again this commonalty between the candidates' comments is not a result of a specific interview question. Rather these trends, like the one concerning tensions within the conditions of discourse in the program, arise from the data.

In addition to time constraints the next most referenced problematic programmatic feature is the perceived lack of communication amongst the program's teacher educators. In the opinions of the candidates interviewed, this lack of communication contributes to undo repetition of information in uncreative ways and enhances the general feeling of being "pounded" with information. Another feature of concern is the physical arrangements of the classrooms. For example, holding a class on constructivist approaches to cooperative learning in a classroom where the seats are bolted to the floor in a theater style arrangement.

The candidates' assessments of the problematic features institutionalized at CU is made possible by their clear awareness of the program's main focuses and professed principles of multicultural bilingual education. Thus, it seems that when candidates are clearly aware of a program's

goal of approaching teacher education for diversity in an integrated fashion, they become apt critics offering their opinions on how to better the effort.

Problematizing Teacher Educators as Factors Mediating the Dissemination of the Program's Principles of Multicultural/Bilingual Education

Perceiving gaps between principles and practices.

The candidates once again prove unsolicited critics upon analyzing characteristics of the teacher educators' pedagogy that they perceive to constrain and/or impede the program's articulated principles of multicultural bilingual education. Rob, an Asian American man, states:

> "What is good for students of second grade age or sixth grade age is good for graduate students as well. I think that there isn't enough emphasis on student opinions. Students are not at the center of most of what happens here, although, that is what is preached."

Christina, an Asian American woman also comments on the gap she perceives between the principles the teacher educators espouse and how they conduct their own TEL classes:

> "But, if we are really promoting multiculturalism and mutlieverything, then you are going to have to listen to that person...We want our classrooms to be a safe environment, not only physically, emotionally, psychologically. So, if we are going to try to put that for our own classrooms, then that needs to be modeled for us."

Christina's characterization of an ideal classroom reflects what Giroux (1992) describes as conditions promoting students to be "border-crossers who do not have to put their identities on trial each time they address social and political issues that they do not experience directly" (pg. 33). Giroux (1992), like the candidates interviewed, muses regarding, "What are the necessary conditions to educate teachers to be intellectuals so they can engage critically the relationship between culture and learning and change the conditions under which they work?" (pg. 15). During various parts of their interviews, the candidates each identify something like a "need for dialogue and opportunities for dialogue amongst people." Speaking of this need Betsy, a European American woman, observes, "Some professors say they invite it [dialogue], but the very nature of how they invite it closes it down." On a similar note, Christina expresses: "And so it just bothered me a lot because they were going against what they were saying." Once again, the candidates demonstrate their competence at examining and critiquing the very principles CU's TEL program deems most important. And, again, this same competence makes the candidates most effective at perceiving the gaps between the principles

professed and the practices instantiated at CU's TEL program. The candidates' critiques provide credibility to the admonition: "There is no more important need for an inquiry-oriented program than to model the processes of self-directed growth and continuing self-renewal that it seeks to engender in its students" (Liston and Zeichner, 1987).

Though not an area of intentional exploration in the interview protocol, the data demonstrate that the candidates concur regarding the teacher educators' general ineffective modeling of the principles and theories that they teach in the program. When exploring possible reasons for the professors' ineffectiveness, candidates often reference the professors' passionate commitment to the philosophies and politics underlying the principles they teach. In the candidates' opinions, the professors' passion for these issues often made it difficult for them to allow any open critique of them. Rather, the candidates perceive the teacher educators becoming "defensive" which, the candidates believe, "essentially closes the door to communication and dialogue." However, as with other points of concurrence among the candidates, the reasoning behind their observations differs. Kate, an Asian American woman reflecting upon this situation, concludes:

> "Maybe it is the type of person who is going into the Ph.D. or Ed.D. programs are just more liberal. We don't have any conservative professors here. But there is nothing to counter it. There is the medium and the liberal, but not conservative side. Maybe if there was a more balanced faculty."

Though Kate's critique appears a bit simplistic, she echoes a concern present even in the work of some scholars who consider themselves within the tradition of radicalism in teacher education:

> "The teacher educator must ensure that a full range of views is present. This is not to say that teacher educators must stand up and pretend to be someone they are not, but that their students deserve a fair and honest treatment of any morally relevant topic. A critical education would seem to require this sort of moral deliberation" (Liston and Zeichner, 1987, pg. 122).

Offering a different analysis of the situation, Rob, an Asian American man, postulates that some of the teacher educators do not "have 'the competency to examine racism, personal attitude toward people of different cultural, socioeconomic', and it should say political, 'backgrounds." In this example, Rob is quoting the wording of the (B)CLAD Standard #16 which mandates that recipients of a (B)CLAD credentials demonstrate such competencies and to which I ask the interviewee to respond at another point in the interview protocol (CTC, 1992, pg. 28). Rob goes on to describe the struggle

that he has experienced in trying to get beyond just blaming the personal idiosyncrasies of the teacher educators and to analyze the situation from a more informed perspective. The analysis to which his efforts lead him aptly demonstrate Sarason's (1990) conclusion that you can't expect teachers to teach what they themselves do not know.

These discussions must be put in a sympathetic light that acknowledges the difficulties involved in actually instantiating certain theories and philosophies no matter how committed to them an educator is. Giroux reminds us of the difficulties that arise when teaching principles of multicultural bilingual education such as the ones that, admirably in this author's opinion, are being professed at CU's TEL (B)CLAD program :

> "For [students] to be all of a sudden exposed to a line of critical thinking that both calls their own experience into question and at the same time raises fundamental questions about what teaching should be and what social purposes it might serve is very hard for them" (pg. 16).

Though I recognize the challenge presented by such efforts, I complement this sympathetic perspective with a constructive critique. Walker and Tedick (1994), through their own self-study as teacher educators, articulate such a constructive critique:

> "The more open we are about ourselves as growing teachers, the more we can communicate to our students that the decisions we make, as members of the human community, are contextual, individual, and socially constructed--even, if not especially, in teacher education" (pg. 93).

Perceiving the implications of power relations.

Implicit in such learning environments as described by critical pedagogists is a drastic shift in the hierarchical power relations that usually prevail in classrooms between teacher educator and teacher candidate. However, speaking of the need for dialogue among professors and teacher candidates, Rob, an Asian American man, articulates the complexities involved in such practice:

> "I think that it is wonderful for professors to have their own perspectives. Anyone who doesn't have a perspective, there is something wrong with them. But, I think that it is unfair, especially given the power relationship that exists in a classroom as a professor, and I have used this term with one of my professors. I wrote them a note telling them that in some ways I thought that their class was indoctrination."

Voicing a similar frustration, Patty, a European American woman, declares:

> "You can not just tell people what to think and you can not tell people, 'This is the only perspective to have, and if you don't have it, you are a jerk.'...But you really can't indoctrinate students."

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The reality of implementing a pedagogy based on principles of critical and constructivist education in institutions of K-12 or higher education confronts a sea of existing personal, social, and political complexities and power relations. Mohanty (1994) problematizes the instantiation of these types of critical practices within the confines of traditional higher education institutions:

> "I suggest that a partial (and problematic) effect of my pedagogy, *the location of my courses in the curriculum and the liberal nature of the institution as a whole*, is the sort of attitudinal engagement with diversity that encourages an empty cultural pluralism and domesticates the historical agency of Third World peoples" (pg. 151, italics added).

Giroux (1992) summarizes the complexities involved in such pedagogy with the following statement:

> "As soon as you say people can be agents in the act of learning you politicize the issue of schooling. It becomes political in the best sense of the word, which is to say that students have to become self-conscious about the kinds of social relationships that undergird the learning process" (pg. 16).

The data from these interviews seem to support adding teacher educators to the list of people who need to become self-conscious about the kinds of social relationships that undergird the learning process. Additionally, this notion is supported by the assertions put forth by feminist critics of critical pedagogists. Ellsworth (1989) argues that, often, critical pedgogists do not examine their own positions of power and appreciate the ways in which their privileged power positions constitute barriers to the very pedagogical goals they set forth. Though Ellsworth's critique of critical pedagogy is problematic in other areas, her conclusions regarding this phenomenon do seem to be supported by the data in this study.

Affinity Groups as a Phenomenon of Odd Bed Fellows

As the candidates in this study describe it, affinity groups are formed among candidates in response to what they perceive to be the prevailing hegemonic conditions at CU's TEI program. Bradley, a European American man, describes:

> "Things are more trapped in the political correctness realm. People mumble to each other, 'Well, that's like it's gospel, but it's not.' There is no talk about it out in the open, and I think that kind of perpetuates whatever prejudices and stereotypes so that they can not be gotten rid of."

Such affinity groups are not only referenced by the candidates interviewed, but also unintentionally formed amongst the interviewees. To the best of my knowledge, at the time of their interviews, the

candidates interviewed did not know who the other people are that I include in my study. However, as has been continually demonstrated, the candidates' opinions and concerns coalesce around common sites. In this sense, the interviewed candidates, who were chosen specifically because they were reputed to represent differing receptions of the program's articulated principles of multicultural bilingual education, end up forming an affinity group of their own. The common sites around which their concerns and critiques revolve, as has been demonstrated, are: (1) their responses to the conditions of discourse at CU"s TEL program and (2) their perception of the micropolitics of the program. Succinctly, the concerns and critiques of the candidates interviewed rally for the voices of their fellow candidates to be heard in a dialogic atmosphere that does not require a homogeneous harmony, but demands respect on the part of all involved--candidates and teacher educators. Ironically, then, these candidates rally for some of the very principles CU"s TEL (B)CLAD program articulates as its main focus, but which end up being mediated by individual and institutional factors within the program itself.

Recommendations

I commend the CU TEL faculty for their efforts to implement a social reconstructionist multicultural and bilingual teacher preparation program. Their commitment to multicultural and bilingual education for a just and caring society extends beyond the mandates of the (B)CLAD policy as evidenced by their commitment to continue to uphold these principles even if the (B)CLAD policy is rescinded (a very real possibility due to the current conservative political majority in California).

Though the faculty's social reconstructionist commitment is one of their greatest strengths, it also seems to be, based on the findings of this study, a potential source of weakness. Passionate commitment to the principles one teaches enhances the zeal with which one instructs and can positively impact the students' opinions of the principles being taught, or possibly have unexpected results. However, such passion does not often encourage self reflection of pedagogical practices because one is so focused on the principles one is trying to teach. Without such self reflection, teacher educators at CU are missing valuable opportunities for self growth which could only enhance their abilities to effectively teach the principles to which they are so passionately committed.

Self reflection regarding pedagogical practices could enable CU teacher educators to identify and analyze sites of success and difficulty in the CU TEL program and take action to address problematic areas. Current efforts, such as the support of this study, indicate that CU TEL faculty are aware of the weaknesses of the program and desire to address them. However, intellectual curiosity regarding why certain problems arise in the program does not guarantee an ability to critically inquire into the complexities of these problems and take specific steps to understand one's own complicit role in the creation and resolution of these problems. Myer (1995) asks why teacher educators are so unwilling to participate in self study regarding their own pedagogy and curriculum. He concludes that teacher educators, like most academics, are far more interested in, and better at, "intellectual inquiries" leading to theory rather than "practical inquiries" leading to reformed action. The importance of practical inquires intended to produce reformed action is supported by the notion that how one learns something greatly influences what one does with that knowledge (Sirotnick and Oakes, 1990). Practical inquires by academics could potentially model the duality, rather than the dualism, of theory and practice. If teacher educators are only studying and teaching social reconstructionist multicultural and bilingual education in order to theorize and write about it, then they can hardly expect their teacher candidates to learn these principles in such a way so as to be able to practice them.

If teacher educators sincerely and openly engage in such self reflection they not only set examples for teacher candidates to follow, but also become partners with the candidates who are also struggling to cultivate social reconstructionist thinking and pedagogical practices. In this situation, teacher educators and candidates could learn from each other's strengths and weaknesses resulting from their diverse experiences. Hood and Parker (1994) admonish teacher educators attempting dialogic pedagogy to reconsider how they interact especially with minority teacher candidates when they teach about multiculturalism. In these situations, the candidates often may know more about a subject than the professor[4]. However, such collaborative relationships and dialogues between faculty

[4] This suggestion is validated by Christina's observation that she and other Korean American candidates were never invited to formally share their insights and experiences during the Korean culture component in the bCLAD program at CU.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

and students can only exist with humility and respect (Freire, 1970 in Fernández-Balboa and Marshall, 1994).

These issues prove difficult to address for many reasons including the faculty members' own hesitation and defensiveness regarding self study and placing themselves on the same level as teacher candidates struggling to bridge theory and practice. However, the benefits of such working relations between teacher educators and teacher candidates merit working through the initial discomfort and fear on the part of all involved. Such a process should not be embarked upon by a lone teacher educator, but rather introduced to the faculty as a whole before they begin to interact with incoming candidates. The importance of these issues could be demonstrated to the faculty through voicing the critiques of past students and presenting examples from the literature. The teacher educators themselves, upon acknowledging the issues to be addressed, could, as a faculty, co-construct the paths that their own self reflection and critique could take. Potential ideas may include incorporating the process into their courses through reading assignments and journal writing by faculty and students. Additionally, a portion of regular CU TEL program staff meetings could be devoted to an ongoing dialogue on emergent topics and insights.

The same pragmatic constraints face these recommendations as those challenging most reforms: lack of time and rewards (i.e. course credit and status). Admirably, latter faculty members from the CU school of education serve as teacher educators in the TEL program, but this situation could potentially make it even less attractive to engage in a process to become a better teacher educator. However, the insights and skills gained from this process of self reflection and critique could also be put to good use in the instruction of Ph.D. and other students. Regardless of whether one is teaching credential masters, Ed.D., or Ph.D. candidates, faculty member development as educators and researchers contributes to forwarding social reconstructionist principles in our education system.

Limitations of the Study and Need for Further Research

The biggest limitation to this study is the short amount of time that I spent with each of the candidates (a one to one and a half hour interview and three and a half months in the field). In expanding this study, I will be able to spend more time in the field with the candidates as they go

through their coursework and other components of the program. However, as the interviews were informal, the candidates were able to control the direction of the interviews and speak of matters most important to them during the time that we had together.

Another limiting characteristic of this study is that I was unable to interview a balanced number of candidates from each ethnic group and from the categories of differing receptions of the program's principles. Therefore, in writing up the data, I was especially attentive to representing the voices of each of the candidates in a way that depicts their concerns and critiques as they emerged throughout the interview. A related limitation is that I was not able to interview candidates from one of the teams at CU's TEL program. However, following the principle of the "squeaky wheel gets the grease," I interviewed those candidates whose names continued to appear in my information gathering interviews. As it happened, they were mostly on the three teams in the program who have the most distinctive reputations as either working together well or having problematic areas. This limitation can also be corrected through a longitudinal case study in which I can have time to select alternate participants in case logistical problems arise as they did in this pilot study.

Also, in an expanded version of this study, I would be interested in interviewing and more closely observing the teacher educators at the program. As some of the influential teacher educators involved in the program during the time of my study are not returning next year, and new candidates will enter the program, my next study will provide an opportunity to see if the findings of this study are particular to the personalities and other related idiosyncrasies of the 1994-1995 academic year, or if they are more systematically embedded within the program.

Conclusion

The stage is set at the CU TEL program for substantive reform such reflecting social reconstructionist multicultural/bilingual teacher education's objectives. Many of the crucial elements the literature identifies as necessary for reform are in place: local participants, including those in positions of leadership, are supportive of the reform policy and related principles (Goodlad, 1984); the CU TEL program itself is considered the "center of reform" independent of swings in state politics and policy (Sirotnik and Clark, 1988); and social reconstructionist goals inform the program (Sleeter and

Grant, 1987; Giroux, 1992). Within the short two year span of the new leadership at the CU TEL and implementing the (B)CLAD policy, much reform has already taken place within the program, and there is yet, as has been demonstrated, much to be accomplished. The CU TEL (B)CLAD program represents an opportunity to analyze the reform process underway in the alleged "best circumstances." The barriers and supports to reform that emerge in this setting can give us further insight into the complexities involved in such attempts. To date, it seem clear that all involved in the reform process must accept challenges as part of the process and be willing and able to change.

This study describes the strengths and weaknesses of the program this year through the voices of eight teacher candidates and attempts to motivate a process of self reflection, critique, and transformation amongst the program's participants--teacher educators and teacher candidates. In and of itself, this study can be viewed as one step in the cycle of continual reflection, critique, and transformation at the CU TEL program. It is my sincere hope that the findings of this study will promote the voicing of critiques as opportunities to learn and improve, rather than as points of contention and defensiveness. As a student myself in the CU Graduate School of Education, I firmly believe that the critiques and suggestions of students can be an important resource in efforts to create just and caring schooling for grades K-12 and higher education.

References

Aceves, L. (1993). Bilingual education for the nineties: Conforming or transforming? In A. Darder (Ed.). Bicultural studies in education: The struggle for educational justice. Claremont, CA: The Claremont Graduate School.

Baker, C., & García, O. (1993). Foundations of bilingual education and bilingualism. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Banks, J.A. (1991). Teaching multicultural literacy to teachers. Teaching Education, 4, 135-144.

Banks, J.A. (1995). Multicultural education: Historical development, dimensions, and practice. In J.A. Banks & C.A. McGee Banks (Eds.). Handbook of research on multicultural education (pp. 3-24). New York: Simon & Schuster Macmillan.

Burbules, N. C. and Rice, S. (1991). Dialogue across differences: Continuing the conversation. Harvard Educational Review, 61, (4), 393-416.

Carlson, R. and Walton, P. H. (1994, February). CLAD/BCLAD: California reforms in the preparation and credentialing of teachers for a linguistically and culturally diverse student population. Paper presented at the meeting of the 23rd Annual International Bilingual/Multicultural Education Conference sponsored by the National Association for Bilingual Education, Los Angeles, CA.

Cochran-Smith, M. (1995). Color blindness and basket making are not the answers: Confronting the dilemmas of race, culture, and language diversity in teacher education. American Educational Research Journal, 32, (3), 493-522.

Commission on Teacher Credentialing, State of California. (1992). Standards of program quality and effectiveness for professional teacher preparation programs for multiple and single subject teaching credentials with a (bilingual) crosscultural, language and academic development (CLAD/BCLAD) emphasis. Sacramento, CA: Author.

Cummins, J. (1986). Empowering minority students: A framework for intervention. Harvard Educational Review, 56 (1), 18-36.

Darder, A. (1991). Culture and power in the classroom. New York: Begin & Garvey.

Dewey, J. (1916). Democracy and education. New York: The Free Press.

Ellsworth, E. (1989). Why doesn't this feel empowering?: Working through the repressive myths of critical pedagogy. Harvard Education Review, 59 (3), pp. 297-324.

Frenández-Balboa, J.M. (1994) Dialogical pedagogy in teacher education: Toward an education for democracy. Journal of Teacher Education, 45 (3), pp. 172-182.

Freire, P. (1970). Pedagogy of the oppressed. New York: Herder and Herder.

Gay, G. (1995). Curriculum theory and multicultural education. In J.A. Banks & C.A. McGee Banks (Eds.). Handbook of research on multicultural education (pp. 25-43). New York: Simon & Schuster Macmillan.

Geertz, C. (1973). Thick description: Toward an interpretive theory of culture. In C. Geertz (Ed.). The interpretations of cultures: Selected essays. (pp. 3-30). New York: Basic Books.

Giddens, A (1982). Profiles and critiques in social theory. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gillette, M. and Boyle-Baise, M. (1995). Multicultural Education at the Graduate Level: Assisting Teachers in Developing Multicultural Perspectives. Paper presented at the meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, CA.

Giroux, H. (1992). Border crossings: Cultural workers and the politics of education. New York: Routledge.

Giroux, H. and McLaren, P. (1994). Between Borders: Pedagogy and the politics of cultural studies. New York: Routledge.

Goodlad, J. I. (1984). A Place Called School: Prospects for the Future. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Grant C.A. and Tate, W.T. (1995). Multicultural education through the lens of the multicultural education research literature. In J.A. Banks & C.A. McGee Banks (Eds.), Handbook of research on multicultural education (pp. 145-166). New York: Simon & Schuster Macmillan.

Habermas, J. (1971). Knowledge and Human Interests. (J. Shapiro, trans.) Boston: Beacon Press.

Hargreaves, A. (1994). Changing teachers, changing times: Teachers' work and culture in the postmodern age. New York: Teachers College Press.

Hood, S. and Parker, L. (1994). Minority students informing the faculty: Implications for radical diversity and the future of teacher education. Journal of Teacher Education, 45 (3), pp. 164-171.

hooks, b. (1994). Teaching to transgress: Education as the practice of freedom. New York: Routledge.

Jacob, B.A. (1995). Defining culture in a multicultural environment: An ethnography of Heritage High School. American Journal of Education, 103, pp. 339-377.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1995). Multicultural teacher education: Research, practice, and policy. In J.A. Banks & C.A. McGee Banks (Eds.), Handbook of research on multicultural education (pp. 747-759). New York: Simon & Schuster Macmillan.

Levi-Strauss, C. (1963). Social structure. In C. Levi-Strauss Social Structure, (pp. 277-323). New London: Basic Books.

Lindquist, B. (1994). Beyond student resistance: A pedagogy of possibility. Teaching Education, 6 (2), pp. 1-8.

Liston, D.P. and Zeichner, K.M. (1987). Critical pedagogy and teacher education. Journal of Education, 169 (3), pp. 117-137.

Macedo, D. (personal communication, 1995).

Marshall, C. and Rossman, G. (1989). Designing qualitative research. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

McLaren, P. (1994). Life in schools: An introduction to critical pedagogy in the foundations of education. New York: Longman Publishing Group.

McLaren, P. (1995). Critical multiculturalism, media literacy, and the politics of representation. In J. Frederickson (Ed.), Reclaiming our voices (pp. 99-138). Ontario, CA: California Association of Bilingual Education.

Merriam, S.B. (1988). Case study research in education: A qualitative approach. San Franscisco: Jossey-Bass Publications.

Mohanty, C.T. (1994). "On race and voice: Challenges for liberal education in the 1990s." In H. Giroux and P. McLaren (Eds.), Between Borders: Pedagogy and the politics of cultural studies. New York: Routledge.

Myers, C.B. (1995, April). The importance of self-study in teacher education reform and re-accreditation efforts. Paper presented at the meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, CA.

Nieto, S. (1992). Affirming diversity: The sociopolitical context of multicultural education. White Plains, NY: Longman.

Oakes, J. and Beck, L. (1995). Center X mission and strategies. Unpublished manuscript, University of California, Los Angeles.

Ruiz, R. (1988). Orientations in language planning. In S.L. McKay & S.C. Wong (Eds.), Language diversity: Problem or resource? (pp. 3-25). Boston: Heinle & Heinle Publishers.

Sarason, S.B. (1990). The Predictable Failure of Education Reform. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

Shelly, R. (1993). Habermas and the normative foundations of a radical politics. Thesis Eleven, 35, 62-82.

Sirotnik, K.A. and Oakes, J. (1990). Evaluation as critical inquiry: School improvement as a case in point. In New Directions for Program Evaluation, 45 (Spring, 1990).

Sleeter, C.E. (1995). An analysis of the critiques of multicultural education. In J.A. Banks & C.A. McGee Banks (Eds.), Handbook of research on multicultural education (pp. 81-94). New York: Simon & Schuster Macmillan.

Sleeter, C. and Grant, C. (1987). An analysis of multicultural education in the U.S. Harvard Educational Review, 57, 421-444.

Sirotnik, K.A. and Oakes, J. (1990). Evaluation as critical inquiry: School improvement as a case in point. In New Directions for Program Evaluation, 45 (Spring, 1990).

Stuart Wells, A. and Grutzik, C. (1995). The Multiple Meanings of Charter School Reform: Exploring Decentralization from Community Standpoints. Unpublished manuscript, University of California, Los Angeles.

Turner. T. (1993). Anthropology and multiculturalism: What is anthropology that multiculturalists should be mindful of it? Cultural Anthropology, 8 (4). 411-429.

Walker. C.L. and Tedick. D.J. (1994). Creating a culture of reform and reflection. Teaching Education, 6 (2). pp. 81-95.

White. L. (1975). The concept of culture and Systems in general. In L. White The concept of cultural systems. (pp. 3-37). New York: Columbia University Press.

Yin. R.K. (1989). Case study research: Design and methods. Newbury Park. CA: Sage Publications.

Zeichner. K.M. (1993. February). Educating teachers for cultural diversity (National Center for Research on Teacher Learning Special Report). East Lansing. MI: National Center for Research on Teacher Learning.

Appendix A

Brief Sketches of the Candidates Participating in this Study
(in alphabetical order)*

Besty is a European America woman in her mid-twenties who considers herself strongly supportive of the program's principles of multicultural and bilingual education.

Bradley is a European American man in his mid-twenties who considers himself moderately critical of some of the program's principles of multicultural and bilingual education.

Christina is an Asian American woman in her early twenties who considers herself generally supportive of the program's principles of multicultural and bilingual education.

Kate is an Asian American woman in her early twenties who considers herself supportive of the program's principles of multicultural and bilingual education.

Kenneth is a European American man in his late thirties who considers himself moderately critical of some of the principles of multicultural and bilingual education.

Patty is a European American woman in her early forties who considers herself generally supportive of the program's principles of multicultural and bilingual education.

Paulina is a Chicana in her mid-twenties who considers herself strongly supportive of the program's principles of multicultural and bilingual education.

Rob is an Asian American man in his mid-twenties who considers himself strongly supportive of the program's principles of multicultural and bilingual education.

* All names have been changed to protect the confidentiality of the participants in this study.